



Gilded Age Pilgrims

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Historicizing the Past: The Return of the Mayflower

The reshaping of the New England rural past was one critical process that occurred after the Civil War. The more specific reexamination of New England history—of Americans' relation to their Puritan and Revolutionary War past—was another related process. The pictorial emphasis on a preindustrial rurality and a vacationers' haven in nature in the decades after 1865 and the marketing of this vision to a national audience were ways of reasserting the importance of older ideals and values in the face of a changing America. The historical recovery of the colonial past involved a parallel attempt to reassert the moral and social values of the founding (the Puritan seventeenth century), the making of the republic (the Revolutionary era), and the fulfillment of the ideal through the preservation of the Union and the freeing of the slaves (the Civil War). This was New England's claim to moral predominance and national leadership, and it reinforced the searching for historical roots, back to a British and, for some, an Anglo-Saxon racial heritage. After the devastation of the Civil War and the uncertainties generated by massive postwar immigration and by industrial, commercial, and urban development, such a strategy should not seem surprising.

Psychologically, the future is always an unmapped terrain, and our tendency is to read it in terms of past experience. Historically, William Bradford, who landed at Plymouth in December 1620, describes a landscape of loss facing those who had sailed on the *Mayflower*: "no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies; no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor" and no biblical Pisgah from which to look down on a promised land.¹ Bradford's account was well known in its own time, and following generations drew on it to define the loss of the original Puritan piety, before the manuscript disappeared. Bradford's full text, *Of Plimoth Plantation*, was rediscovered in London in 1855, immediately copied, and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society the next year. It consequently became fully a part of the historical record that helped post-Civil War Americans define the meaning of their past.²

Of course the rereading of the New England past had been an ongoing process. Plymouth in 1620 and Massachusetts Bay in 1629 were critical locations in that process, but the Old Tower in Newport, Rhode Island, had suggested Viking origins to pre-Civil War writers like James Fenimore Cooper and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow;³ and Frederic Church's career as a landscape painter began in 1846 with his historical canvas *The Hooker Company Journeying through the Wilderness from Plymouth to Hartford, in 1636*.⁴ After the Civil War Celia Thaxter reminded readers of the *Atlantic Monthly* that the Isles of Shoals had been used as a base by fishermen as early as 1614, and *Among the Isles of Shoals* (1873) included fragments of earlier seventeenth- and eighteenth-century histories.⁵

Henry Mosler, *Pilgrims' Grace* (detail), 1897, oil on canvas, 98.4 x 131.5 cm (38 3/4 x 51 3/4 in.). Allentown Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Hirschl, 1977 (1977.04).



33. John Whetten Ehninger, *A Thanksgiving Dinner among the Puritans*, from *Harper's Weekly* 11 (November 30, 1867).

34. W. S. L. Jewett, *A Thanksgiving Dinner among Their Descendants*, from *Harper's Weekly* 11 (November 30, 1867).



Nathaniel Hawthorne had been to the Shoals in 1852, just after finishing in quick succession *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) and *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851), his rereading of the Puritan past of Boston and Salem, as well as countless shorter tales like "Endicott and the Red Cross" or "The Maypole of Merrymount," which used fiction to critique the New England history he had read in the collections of Salem's Essex Institute and elsewhere.⁶ Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702) had appeared in a scholarly edition in the 1820s. Two years after Hawthorne's death and in the wake of the Civil War, the process continued. In 1866 Samuel Gardner Drake published an elegant edition of Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693) and Robert Calef's sequel, *More Wonders of the Invisible World* (1700), under the title *The Witchcraft Delusion*. Drake then went on in 1869 to publish his own *Annals of Witchcraft in New England*, intended to set the record straight: that Mather was "unjustly singled out and held up to scorn," that witchcraft as a practice came from England, and that he was now putting the student "in possession of nearly all the Materials existing upon this deeply interesting, though humiliating, and in some respects, revolting Subject."⁷

That Drake's work, clearly directed to a limited audience, was part of a continuing attempt to recast the colonial evidence and to offer a more positive representation of the Puritans can be seen in two works of 1867. The first was by John Whetten Ehninger, whose large oil painting *October* (see Fig. 15) had been published in a revised graphic version in *Harper's Weekly* on 26 October. Five weeks later *Harper's Weekly* published a lead article on Thanksgiving. According to the author, this festival, originating in New England, "has become a national affair," celebrated by all on the same day. The community of thanksgiving is "due to the war, and shows how firmly that struggle has bound together the different sections of our country. . . . Like many other Puritan ideas, it has been communicated to other States until it has become national." But having said this, the writer went on to indicate that this kind of festival and public praise of God had ancient origins and that the Puritans "had a darker theology—one of fear rather than of love. . . . The God of the nineteenth century is not the God of the sixteenth." What we are given here, thus, is at once a nationalizing of the regional, so that New England can stand for the nation—New England and Northern abolitionist idealism had, after all, just won the Civil War—and a critique of its "darker" past in the name of present, in this instance spiritual, values.⁸

The visual expression of all of this was available in a pair of plates: John Ehninger's *A Thanksgiving Dinner among the Puritans* (Fig. 33) and the accompanying *A Thanksgiving Dinner among Their Descendants* (Fig. 34). The first emphasizes the praying father



35. George Henry Boughton, *Pilgrims Going to Church*, 1867, oil on canvas, 71.8 x 130.8 cm (28 1/4 x 51 1/2 in.). © Collection of The New-York Historical Society, The Robert L. Stuart Collection, on permanent loan from The New York Public Library, 1944.

looking up to God, while others solemnly bow their heads. It is set in a rather elegant building, with ascending stairs, a set of armor on the wall, framed portrait, cabinet with jugs, and two servants bowing in the dark. In the companion piece, by contrast, the old man is carving, not praying, the decor and the clothing are not somber but fashionable, with vaguely classical motifs on the elegant mantle, and reminders of wartime: the scene is bracketed by the figures of the lighter-skinned serving woman and the black manservant who stares problematically out at us, his back to the seated Union officer with the empty sleeve. If the left side of the image expresses a gentle family love and the Victorian clutter at the center gives shape to postwar urban prosperity, the black servants express not only the “conspicuous waste and leisure” of what Thorstein Veblen would call “the leisure class”; they also stand as haunting reminders of the unfulfilled promise of equality of the Reconstruction era. Was a retreat into a Puritan past to become a way of evading those issues, another way of recasting “the fugitive’s story”?

The year 1867 also saw the exhibition by George Henry Boughton at the Royal Academy in London of his now famous image originally titled *Early Puritans of New England going to worship armed, to protect themselves from Indians and wild beasts* (Fig. 35). In both his life and art, Boughton reached across the Anglo-American boundaries that had been so strained by Civil War politics to recast the image of the first Puritans/Pilgrims for the coming generation.⁹ Indeed, the reverberations and replications of the Boughton painting extend well into the twentieth century. Fully the Anglo-American, Boughton was born in Britain but trained and exhibited first in New York at the National Academy of Design and then in France. He spent time in Brittany, painting pictures of the French peasantry, who represented, in an era of major agricultural conflict, sturdy self-reliant older ways for the Barbizon and Pont-Aven artists from the 1850s on.¹⁰ Settling in London in the 1860s, Boughton became friend and sometime mentor to a generation of American expatriates, including Edwin Austin Abbey, James McNeill Whistler, and Henry James.¹¹ His paintings traveled back and forth across the Atlantic. *Early Puritans* was on exhibit in New York in early 1868 as *Pilgrims Going to Church*, and was purchased by Robert L. Stuart, who was at the same time accumulating Eastman Johnson genre scenes.¹²



36. N. C. Wyeth, *The Wedding Procession*, 1940–45, oil on canvas (mural for the employee lounge of Metropolitan Life Insurance Building, New York), 274.3 x 762.0 cm (9 x 25 ft.). The collection of the MetLife murals, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York.

Retitled *Pilgrims' Sunday Morning*, the painting became a notable part of the American art display at the 1876 Centennial Exposition. In graphic form the image appeared in magazines and books on American history over the next fifty years, was virtually plagiarized by Frederick Waugh for his *Puritans* (1890), and clearly served as the model for a scene in the Old Deerfield, Massachusetts, Historical Pageant in 1910, as photographs testify.¹³ It continued to be a well-known print displayed in schoolrooms across the country well into our own time.¹⁴

The explicit source of the image was again Anglo-American. The passage cited by Boughton from William Henry Bartlett's *Pilgrim Fathers* (1853) describes the "dense forest" through which "the cavalcade proceeding to the church, the marriage procession, if marriage could be thought of in those frightful days, was often interrupted by the sudden death-shot from some invisible enemy."¹⁵ Boughton eschews the melodrama of his textual source, except implicitly in the guarded look of the men bearing muskets. The pictorial design of the image does not stress the danger of Indians or wild beasts.¹⁶ The tree stumps emphasize the act of clearing the large middle space for the stately parade. The foreground vertical trees are frames, not barriers, and the pairs of armed men bracket and quite literally safeguard the old minister (who looks like Elder Brewster), his mate, and a group of women, men, and children—in sum, a solemn, complex event is rendered, subdued in its color range and almost tonal in its palette.¹⁷ The outward gaze of some figures induces the viewer to participate in this quiet ritual, to become a part of their community. Guarded at the edges, in a wintery New England, this image invites us to relive a history in which Pilgrim Plymouth becomes the sign for a more general Puritan New England. The further semiotic slippage, from "going to church" to "Sunday morning," is another such broadening and opening up of the meaning of a particular historical event for its late-nineteenth-century audiences and one which narrows the distance between seventeenth-century New England and the Sunday morning images of rural New England by Eastman Johnson, Albert Fitch Bellows, and others.

In the years after 1867 Boughton painted other images of Puritans, although none had quite the appeal of this first one. His *Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers* (1869) was an all-male grouping, more militant in armor and more rhetorical in gesture.¹⁸ In 1869 he exhibited at the Royal Academy *The March of Miles Standish*, in which armed men follow the Indian guide Hobomek—the first of these Boughton images based on Longfellow. Several large scenes depict versions of the return of the *Mayflower*, again using Longfellow as source, with black-clad men and women gazing from the rocky shore at the retreating form of the ship—*Pilgrim Exiles*, as one is entitled—a motif that functions in two ways, emphasizing the bravery of these "pioneers" and their loss of the critical tie to the mother culture.¹⁹ This double intent



37. John Rogers, "Why Don't You Speak for Yourself, John?," 1885, painted plaster; 55.8 x 43.2 x 30.5 cm (22 x 17 x 12 in.). National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Genevieve Wisel in memory of Dan Wisel.

mestic consumption. Clearly the mediating instrument was the immensely and internationally popular poetry of Longfellow.

The Courtship of Miles Standish had been published originally in 1858. It involved for Longfellow a turning away from his original dramatic intentions regarding Puritan history (just as Bradford's history was being fully published). By 1868 he had returned to his original plan, in the "New England Tragedies" of "John Endicott" and "Giles Corey," parts of his large-scale trilogy entitled *Christus: A Mystery* (1872). It was not, however, this tragic dimension of colonial history that appealed to his loyal audiences but the lighter pastoral of *Miles Standish*. Reprinted again and again in the postwar years, the poem elicited visual interpretations, from a multitude of small engraved illustrations in the nineteenth century to a set of huge murals, which N. C. Wyeth did for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in the early 1940s (Fig. 36).²² The impact of the poem in these years can be felt even in images like Thomas Eakins's *Courtship* (ca. 1878) that seem to work ironically off a shared understanding of the poem.²³ Courtship images include one of John Rogers's most popular parlor sculptures, "Why Don't You Speak for Yourself, John?" (Fig. 37), and a pair of interior images, of Miles Standish and John Alden, *John Alden's Letter* (Fig. 38), and of Priscilla and John (1884), by Charles Yardley Turner, exhibited in Chicago at the Columbian Exposition in 1893.²⁴

Longfellow's poem and its illustrations constructed a visually attractive colonial past, with beautiful (though frequently austere) landscapes, precise costuming, and historical actors "brought to life" in ways recognizable to their nineteenth- and twentieth-century audiences. Marginalized as "savages," Native Americans are al-

is central to the art of old New England throughout this period, informing both the Puritan and Revolutionary era imagery.

In addition to these large horizontal images of men (and sometimes women) in the New England landscape, Boughton produced numerous small vertical images of single women or couples in Puritan garb, with titles linking them to Longfellow's *Courtship of Miles Standish* or Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*. A few of the latter include little Pearl; others position Hester Prynne at the door of a house, as Able, the community helper, but certainly not as Hester the Adulteress.²⁰ Some were figures reprocessed from the original 1867 *Pilgrims Going to Church*. One such, a *Priscilla* of 1879, in which a female figure walks alone across a snow-covered field with the houses of the community behind her, became about 1890, with the addition of a rifle-toting man in tights, the inevitable steeple-crown hat, and a caption "Pilgrims Going to Church in Colonial Times," the label on a tin can of strawberries.²¹ The austere image that locates American Puritan events at the level of history painting—the pinnacle of the hierarchy of genres in the canon of art—is now transformed into a marketing strategy for do-

38. Charles Yardley Turner, *John Alden's Letter*, 1887, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 114.3 cm (30 x 45 in.). Collection of the Union League Club of Chicago.

39. Edmund H. Garrett, *First Happened on the Mayflower*, from Edmund H. Garrett, *Three Heroines of New England Romance* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1894).



lotted one brutal scene in which Standish triumphs over them (and the head of one is returned to the Pilgrim fort, to the dismay of Priscilla). The gender drama is carefully nuanced to pit the gruff but well-born Miles, military protector of the community, against the sensitive, more modest John. In the Turner image Standish, whom one could almost mistake for a Cavalier, with his long boots and pointed beard, defends the hearth, while the scholarly Miltonic Alden sits with pen poised. Longfellow's Priscilla is at once direct and honest, domestically active at her spinning wheel, "arch" rather than sentimental, and rewarded for her patience with a wedding and a ride on the white bull, like a medieval damsel. That ride is configured finally, in the closing

lines, as a journey "in the valley of Eschol. / Like a picture it seemed of the primitive, pastoral ages, / Fresh with the youth of the world, and recalling Rebecca and Isaac, / Old and yet ever new, and simple and beautiful always."

The appeal of the poem and its illustrations over time lay precisely in its capacity to dissolve conflicts of race and territorial control, of bold venturing into the new world versus returning to the old, and of contending male and female roles. The final tableau erases the problematic future in a generalized union with a mythic past, both Old Testament (the view from Pisgah and beyond that Bradford could not find) and seventeenth century. When Harriet Prescott Spofford retold the Priscilla story for Edmund Garrett's *Three Heroines of New England Romance* (Fig. 39), she acknowledged that the anachronisms of Longfellow's version were many and well known, but "every incident in their pages is absolutely true to the life of the period." It was not the "bare facts" but our capacity to identify with the past: "because we like to make these people, looming large through the mists of time . . .

real enough for our sympathies."²⁵ The Promised Land lay in this stable, recovered past, "old and yet ever new, and simple and beautiful always," the antithesis of late-nineteenth-century New Englanders' experience of the present.

What masks this ideological achievement—using the past, however unconsciously, to soften the critique of the present—is the precise attention to setting, which has led to the labeling of many of these works as "colonial revival." Writers of earlier nineteenth-century romances like Walter Scott and Fenimore Cooper had carefully worked up the vraisemblance of their Highland or Huron costumes or local dialects. The visual artists of these history pieces filled their images with period artifacts. Pewter tankards, turned and gate-leg tables, studded leather chairs, cradles, and spinning wheels appear again and again, often copied from or modeled on the cherished few existing seventeenth-century artifacts in collections on display at Plymouth (see Fig. 86), Salem, Boston, and, later, Deerfield.²⁶ The richly appointed room in Turner's *John Alden's Letter*, like the earlier Ehninger *Thanksgiving* engraving (see Fig. 33), with its hanging armor, brass andirons, and bull's-eye windows, is a model of elegance.²⁷

The praying posture of the father in the Ehninger is echoed thirty years later in Henry Mosler's *Pilgrims' Grace* (Fig. 40). A German-Jewish artist brought up in Cincinnati, Mosler spent more than twenty years abroad, mostly in France, creating precise Breton peasant scenes. In 1894 he returned to the United States, to translate his old-fashioned rural themes into historical American terms. He found a house in Easthampton, Long Island, to use as the model for the humble but cluttered, paneled interior of *Pilgrims' Grace*. Careful costuming (down to the child's

40. Henry Mosler, *Pilgrims' Grace*, 1897, oil on canvas, 98.4 x 131.5 cm (38 3/4 x 51 3/4 in.). Allentown Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Hirschl, 1977 (1977.04).





41. Jennie A. Brownscombe, *First Thanksgiving at Plymouth*, 1914, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 111.8 cm (28 x 44 in.). Pilgrim Society, Pilgrim Hall Museum, Plymouth, Massachusetts.

lace collar) is exactly contemporary with the researches and publications of Alice Morse Earle, aptly dubbed “The Mother of American Material Culture,”²⁸ and a few elegant ceramic pieces complement the inevitable pewter.²⁹ The central action in the Mosler painting is the act of prayer, the “grace” before the meal, and this spiritual marker is the organizing principle of the pictorial design. All lines and planes lead to the praying father.³⁰

What is a private religious ritual in Ehninger and Mosler’s images becomes a public event in another image, Jennie A. Brownscombe’s *First Thanksgiving at Plymouth* (Fig. 41). As an insistently narrative, moralistic, and stylistically mimetic image, produced one year after the modernist explosion of the Armory Show in New York, the Brownscombe painting is surely an embarrassment to any “progressive” version of American art history. Like the Boughton image, it has been endlessly reproduced in graphic form, while the original finds its home, appropriately, in Plymouth, in Pilgrim Hall, the 1824 landmark that has welcomed pilgrims and tourists for more than 150 years.

The association with Mosler is not coincidental. Though Brownscombe began as an artist-illustrator in New York in the 1860s, she went on to study with Mosler in his Paris studio in 1882–83. Like many wealthy American artists, she traveled frequently between America and Europe. Her oil paintings appeared in major exhibitions, and she worked as a graphic artist for magazines and also for the lithographer Louis Prang in the production of greeting card and calendar images as did Howard Pyle, N. C. Wyeth, Maxfield Parrish, Frank Schoonover, and many others.

The *First Thanksgiving* gives the father’s prayerful gesture to a recognizable portrait image of Elder Brewster. The armed figure across the table from him must surely represent Miles Standish. The elongated table suggests images of the Last Supper, but the presence of women, when coupled with the pair of praying children and prominent woman with cradle, forming a powerful diagonal, argues a different dynamic. The mother anchors the spiritual gesture in female domesticity, and the



42. Frederic Dielman, *The Marriage of Doctor Francis LeBaron and Mary Wilder*, 1894, etching, 56.4 x 74.3 cm (22 x 29 1/2 in.). Harriet Beecher Stowe Center, Hartford, Connecticut.

Indians are carefully marginalized.³¹ Despite the obvious anachronisms (the Plains Indian headdresses, the log cabin), Brownscombe has carefully mapped the social and spiritual space of a peaceful New World. If it seemed badly out of date both stylistically and thematically to promoters of the 1913 Armory Show, those who supported a less well-known 1909 Armory Show argued that Edwin Austin Abbey, Edwin Howland Blashfield, and Jennie Brownscombe, among others, created paintings that served an important social function: "Many children . . . never see any good pictures outside of the

schoolroom, and if a proper proportion of the school pictures are of a patriotic and historical interest their educational influence will be marked."³²

A substantial community is gathered indoors to witness another domestic ritual in *The Marriage of Doctor Francis LeBaron and Mary Wilder*, a 1695 event in Hingham, Massachusetts, which linked a daughter of Plymouth to a French physician, who had been shipwrecked and resettled in Hingham, where he left a substantial estate at his death in 1704. The large oil version, exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1894, was turned into a delicate etching (Fig. 42).³³ The somber clothing of the gathered assembly sets off the elegant attire of the marriage partners. Costume signalizes a key distinction, one that we saw in the Turner *John Alden's Letter* (see Fig. 38), and which had emerged in the graphic representations of the 1880s and 1890s in the work of Dielman, Abbey, and Pyle. It is a movement back and forth between Puritan and Cavalier, between the austere and the elegant, in substance and style—the style of late-nineteenth-century artist-illustrators working in England and America and of their seventeenth-century subject matter. The larger claim being made through these images is that both Puritan and Cavalier were the heritage of New England. The major political and religious conflicts out of which the colonies were forged—those between the church politics of separatist Pilgrim Plymouth and Puritan Massachusetts Bay and, more dramatically, between the warring Roundheads of Cromwell and the royalist Cavaliers—were being dissolved (or ignored) by a generation more concerned with solidifying its claims to "British" and increasingly Anglo-Saxon "racial" heritage in the face of challenges to their hegemony by newer immigrant groups.³⁴

Historicizing the Past: The Revolutionary War

The ultimate proving ground for this attitude was, of course, the Revolutionary War. The desire to identify with a British heritage came face to face with the demands of American patriotism. Strategies developed by late-nineteenth-century artists and writers to cope with this challenge and the ways in which they historicized the eighteenth-century "colonial" heritage form a second chapter in the historical recasting of old New England.

Earlier interpretations have linked this process to the Centennial of 1876, the responses to which produced or at least reinforced what is called the colonial revival. As with most clichés, it has some truth, although the situation was more complicated temporally and ideologically. Interest in the Revolutionary era had been, like that in the earlier colonial period, continuous. The Massachusetts Historical Society was founded in 1791, in part to preserve the documentary evidence of events that the society's founders like John Adams, historian Jeremy Belknap, and



43. Daniel Chester French, *Concord Minute Man of 1775*, 1889; remodeled from 1875/ cast 1917, bronze, 81.9 x 43.5 x 46.7 cm (32 1/4 x 17 1/8 x 18 3/8 in.). National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, museum purchase.

authority, and pride of “breeding at the head of an army whose enemies deemed it a mere peasant mob and rowdy assemblage of rebels.” Washington’s taking command of the troops on Cambridge Common led to endless artifacts venerating the “Washington Elm.”³⁷ Within this general context, New England played a special historical role, for it was the place where, as the first stanza of Emerson’s “Concord Hymn” asserted: “By the rude bridge that arched the flood, / Their flag to April’s breeze unfurled; / Here once the embattled farmers stood, / And fired the shot heard round the world.”

The aging Emerson was appointed to the committee that commissioned a youthful Concordian named Daniel Chester French to create a monument commemorating the Battle of Concord. Approved in plaster and then cast in bronze (with the Emerson stanza carved into the granite base), French’s heroic figure stands in a pose adapted in part from the Apollo Belvedere. The figure has by its side a plow recalling the farmer-soldier Cincinnatus and Jean-Antoine Houdon’s life-size marble image of Washington in the Richmond, Virginia, state capitol designed by Jefferson.³⁸ Bronze for casting the statue at Concord came from melted Civil War cannons and adds for its 1875 audience another obvious biblical association, of beating swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks (Isaiah 2:4). Yet the statue also insists on its rural democratic roots, through the citizen-farmer associations, the balancing flintlock, and the meticulously defined costume (no classical toga here!). The *Concord Minute Man of 1775* (Fig. 43), as the figure became known in numerous small-scale remodeled replicas of the 1875 image, balanced the elegant pose and refined features associated with its classical, biblical, and Washingtonian heroic sources against the insistent ordinariness of the figure’s dress, plow, and the temporally immediate, thrusting form of the rifle—those things that “enemies” identified with “a mere peasant mob and rowdy assemblage of rebels.”³⁹

others had just lived through; so the future could fully grasp the meaning of this period. The great correspondence revived between Adams and Thomas Jefferson, after they had both retired from office, was dedicated to sorting out the significance of the years in which they had played such critical roles. Cooper’s second novel was *The Spy: A Tale of the Neutral Ground* (1821)—that is, the space of ambiguous loyalties during the Revolution. One scholar calculates that more than twenty dramas on Revolutionary War themes were published in the forty years before the Civil War.³⁵

The images of and monuments to George Washington in every decade from the 1770s to the 1850s—which gave us Emanuel Leutze’s liberal northern *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1851) as well as Junius Brutus Stearns’s series on Washington the aristocratic Virginian and plantation owner—and beyond are the most obvious testimony to the continuous reprocessing of colonial imagery to serve the differing and often conflicting needs of later generations for a past that would both reinforce their present commitments and help alleviate their anxieties.³⁶

Washington’s connections with New England were limited but intense. Woodrow Wilson, in his 1896 biography of Washington and in his later “Colonies and Nation,” serialized in *Harper’s Monthly* in 1901, stressed his fellow-Virginian’s notions of honor, au-



44. Henry Bacon, *The Boston Boys and General Gage*, 1775, 1875, oil on canvas, 150.8 x 240.2 cm (59 3/8 x 94 9/16 in.). The George Washington University Permanent Collection, Courtesy The Dimock Gallery.

That same combination of classical elegance and meticulous realism is available in an exactly contemporary Revolutionary scene created by the expatriate American painter and sometime colleague of George Boughton, Henry Bacon. *The Boston Boys and General Gage*, 1775 (Fig. 44) was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1875 and the next year in Boston and at the Centennial in Philadelphia.⁴⁰ The incident that this historical canvas dramatizes has its source in Benson Lossing's writings.⁴¹ The scenario is the moment of direct protest by a group of Boston children to the Massachusetts military governor when their sledding, snowballing, and other activities were frustrated by the occupying British soldiers. General Gage remarks to one of his officers, "the very children here draw in a love of liberty with the air they breathe."⁴²

Not a grand historical scene of a major event, this is a historical anecdote, a mixing of the traditional hierarchy of genres, treated with all the diversity and specificity of incident, costume, and setting associated with narrative realism of the period. Yet in its overall design it is a carefully constructed drama of class, race, and gender in urban Boston. The heavily insistent portico and the arched windows frame General Gage and associate him with classical order, as does his gesture restraining the lunging soldier. That gesture is echoed in the black equerry reining in the noble white steed, the pair of elegantly attired young women and their tiny dog, and the open space, which allows viewers of the scene access to a reimagined Province House with its emblem of royal authority on the entablature above.

The other side of the picture, with the cavorting soldier and servant girl, the distant soldier chasing children on the snowy Common, and the obstreperous child climbing the lamppost, is organized by the thick and complex diagonal wedge of people—old and young, black and white, clad neatly or roughly, from the sprawling boy to the three children directly confronting General Gage. Even the black equerry outside the shuttered window has his vernacular counterpart in the black man who sticks his head out the open window to the left. If the narrative incident is an enactment of love of freedom as a natural attribute of American children, the elegant



45. John Trumbull, *The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker's Hill, 17 June 1775*, 1786, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 86.4 cm (25 x 34 in.). Yale University Art Gallery, Trumbull Collection.

46. Winslow Homer, *The Battle of Bunker Hill—Watching the Fight from Copp's Hill in Boston*, 1875, wood engraving, 34.6 x 23.2 cm (13 5/8 x 9 1/8 in.), from *Harper's Weekly* 19 (26 June 1875). National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, The Ray Austrian Collection (Gift of Beatrice L. Austrian, Caryl A. Austrian, and James A. Austrian).

aesthetic order of Bacon's painting is itself a signifier of restraint, controlling potential conflict.⁴³

Bernard Mergen nicely argues the importance in this painting of winter and snowball symbolism in both a New England and Revolutionary War context and reminds us that the 1770 "Boston Massacre" was a snow scene.⁴⁴ This painting is, however, unlike the 1838 snowball fight on Boston Common recreated by Henry Adams in *The Education of Henry Adams*, between the North Enders and the South Enders, the forces led by "Conky Daniels" and those led by "Bully Hig" (Henry Lee Higginson, later a power in the Immigration Restriction League). That battle not only presaged participation in the Civil War, as Adams explicitly reminds us, it was also a sign of class warfare between the new Irish and the old stock, the Boston Latin School crowd.

This is precisely what Bacon's painting avoids. Abandoning Paris in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War but surely aware of the Commune, of Émile Zola, of working-class protest, and the "mob" violence of the barricades, Bacon uses the patriotic anecdote to create a prelude to separation in which the British governor offers a model of noble restraint and reconciliation, not urban conflict and violence. *The Boston Boys and General Gage* has it both ways. Bacon's art offers another instance of the uses of the language of

elegant order to reach across conflict to the English homeland. At the same time the eloquent nobility of the boys is a model of the forthright young New Englander. The usefulness of the painting was clear: William W. Corcoran purchased it and donated it to the Preparatory School of Columbian University in Washington, D.C., a social lesson to the next generation.⁴⁵

The year 1875 marked the centennial not only of the battle at Concord and the incident with Gage but the major confrontation known as the Battle of Bunker Hill. *Harper's Weekly*, in its issue of 26 June, offered its readers a double-page version of John Trumbull's frequently engraved 1786 painting of the event "in which the raw levies of the still unorganized Continental army so gallantly withstood the onslaught of the British veterans" (Fig. 45). Although he quoted a "cynical English traveler" who thought the presence of the Bunker Hill Monument was "the only instance in which a nation raised a column to commemorate a defeat," the *Harper's* commentator insisted that it was a defeat only in name, because the colonials had run out of ammunition. The British were stunned at the American resistance, and the Americans "learned their strength and . . . the necessity of a thorough military organization." Outlining the course of the battle, referring readers to Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* and with little outline sketches above the essay for the identification of characters, the piece ended: "On page 517 we give an engraving in which MR. WINSLOW HOMER has endeavored, with an artist's imagination, to depict the scenes at Copp's Hill, where the excited citizens of Boston gathered to watch the progress of the battle and the burning of Charlestown" (Fig. 46).⁴⁶

The juxtaposition of images is instructive. The well-known Trumbull painting surely lost something in its black-and-white translation from the original sweeping baroque interplay of forms against a sky filled with conflicting flags and the burst of fire and smoke from burning Charlestown off stage right. Nevertheless the cen-

47. Edwin Howland Blashfield, *Suspense: Boston People Watching from Housetops the Firing at Bunker Hill*, 1882, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 87.0 cm (25 x 34 1/4 in.), Gilbert and Margaret Papazian.



tral event is unmistakable: the death of Major General Joseph Warren in the foreground under the pine tree “American” flags and the parallel image of the death of British Major Pitcairn under the British flag. We are also given the generous act of British Major Small as he deflects the coup de grace aimed at Warren. It is not a matter of source or influence (although Bacon surely knew the famous Trumbull at least in engravings) but of the parallel stances: the emphasis not on a strident American nationalism but a balance between patriotism and recognition of British nobility. At the right edge, our surrogates, the wounded Grosvenor and the black Peter Salem (who according to tradition shot Pitcairn), stare in awe.

The smaller Winslow Homer engraving is linked in its general subject matter (the battle), and the billowing black smoke and hill at upper left correspond to the right edge of the Trumbull. Beyond that, the Trumbull is about engagement with the sublime in the grand manner; the Homer is about distanced observation. The boldly rendered group has emerged onto the roof, right at our point of entry. They stare off, the boy at the chimney above, the tiny figures gathered on other rooftops below, and the harbor, bombarding ships, burning Charlestown, and the battle hills all off in the distance. Homer is likely to have known Trumbull’s description, in his 1841 autobiography, of seeing the battle from Copp’s Hill, which Homer takes as his point of observation. The emphasis has shifted, however, from patriotic performance to the act of seeing itself.

One might shrug off this engraving as an art-historical oddity at the very end of Homer’s career as a magazine illustrator, except that this image reverberates in the next decade and thereafter. In 1882 Edwin Howland Blashfield, newly returned from many years of study and work as an easel painter in France, exhibited at the National Academy of Design in New York his *Suspense: Boston People Watching from Housetops the Firing at Bunker Hill* (Fig. 47). Again, the act of observation is the subject matter, and in this case the object of the gaze is unavailable. Rather we observe the observers. The centrally placed couple with child is an elegant norm, fashionably posed against the tattered roofs and scattered observers, including the waving black man. Blashfield self-consciously construes the community of “Boston people” mixed in race, class, and gender but joined in the act of looking.

Howard Pyle produced another in this sequence of rooftop observer images as a halftone illustration entitled *Viewing the Battle of Bunker Hill* for Woodrow Wilson's 1901 "Colonies and Nation" in *Harper's Monthly*.⁴⁷ The affinities among this group suggest not just that they are a solution to a formal problem or that they share a thematic similarity—focused on vision, privileging the act of looking as it comes to bear on the same historical moment—but also that this configuration was a language for asserting control. Vision becomes an exercise of power over the past.

Against this sequence of images that places conflict at a distance and identifies its late-nineteenth-century audiences as observers, we need to look at Howard Pyle's work more fully and in context. Pyle shows us how late-nineteenth-century Americans historicized the New England of the Revolutionary War era—most especially through the juxtaposition of image and text in a series of histories that appeared first in the popular middle-class magazines and then as books. Produced as pencil or pen-and-ink sketches or as oil paintings, these images were translated by the developing technology of the period into line- or photoengravings or halftone photo-offset prints and lithographs for mass circulation to a wide national and international audience.⁴⁸ This was the form through which Pyle, like Boughton, Dielman, Garrett, Brownscombe, and Pyle's Brandywine student N. C. Wyeth were best known, as Homer, Harry Fenn, and Ehninger had been in earlier decades.

Our story of the imaging of the Revolutionary past picks up in *Harper's Monthly* in 1884, where we looked at illustrators intermixing images and text of Puritans and Cavaliers. This same dynamic is visible in "The Birth of a Nation" series written by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, which rather than battles stressed politics, the development of liberty, and "the sovereignty of the people, or at least the masculine half of the people."⁴⁹ Higginson had been not only an abolitionist and the Civil War leader of a black regiment but also a supporter of women's rights. Hence it is not surprising to find him singling out the importance of the old Northwest as a territory closed to slavery. When it comes to the years of the weak Confederation and Shay's Rebellion, Higginson is evenhanded and mild, pitting Washington's action to put down the rebellion against Jefferson's opposing response. Of 1789 he says that it was "a period of much social display. Class distinctions still prevailed strongly, for the French Revolution had not yet followed the American Revolution to sweep them away."⁵⁰

Against Higginson's liberal reading of the period, we need to set the illustrator's goals. If the illustrations of seventeenth-century scenes in these issues of *Harper's Monthly* blurred the Puritan-Cavalier distinctions, claiming a more aristocratic heritage for New England, Pyle's illustrations accompanying the Higginson history developed a gendered double language. One group of elegant line drawings articulated the world of manners; the first is a coach scene in which women are attended by the French officers at Newport (Fig. 48), and another is an interior scene, *At Mrs. Washington's Reception*, in which the fashionably dressed bow and scrape before a black-clad, stiff president. The pictorial language for male confrontation scenes, by contrast, is bold and heavily outlined. Dark-and-light patterning emphasizes the opposing parties in *Shay's Mob in Possession of a Court-House* (Fig. 49).

This method of differentiating gender and class issues through graphic technique persists in Pyle's later work and is shared by other artist-illustrators as a language of social distinction. In 1898 he and his colleagues collaborated in illustrating Henry Cabot Lodge's "The Story of the Revolution" in the pages of *Scribner's*. Lodge had been a Harvard graduate-student protégé of Henry Adams and contributor to Adams's project of extracting the roots of British and American history from its Anglo-Saxon past, before he turned directly to politics, ultimately as senator from Massachusetts. In the opening of his 1898 *Scribner's* text, Lodge introduces the characters who came to Philadelphia, and his skillful verbal portraiture, stressing visage



48. Howard Pyle, *The French Officers at Newport*, wood engraving, from *Harper's Monthly* 68 (January 1884).

49. Howard Pyle, *Shay's Mob in Possession of a Court-House*, from Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Birth of a Nation," originally published in *Harper's Monthly* 68 (January 1884).

and costume, accompanies reproductions of eighteenth-century images of Sam and John Adams by John Singleton Copley and Benjamin Blyth; of George Washington, John Dickinson, and others by Charles Willson Peale; of Paul Revere by F  vret de Saint-M  min; and a newly recovered drawing of John Sullivan by John Trumbull. The text then emphasizes the major changes in Europe beginning with parliamentary rights and sees Britain as the seat of change and self-government, now advanced by her colonies. The Revolution is thus the fulfillment of the British tradition, George III is the villain, and George Washington the heroic figure.

Lodge has remarkably little to say about the actual Battle of Bunker Hill, although Pyle's image of the battle served as the frontispiece of the February 1898 issue of *Scribner's*. Lodge concerns himself with the "stupidity" of British policy, their failure to recognize that "the men of New England, against whom their wrath was first directed, were of almost absolutely pure English stock. They were descendants of the Puritans, and of the men who followed Cromwell." He asks rhetorically what has "happened to make their descendants in the New World degenerate? . . . Frontiersmen and pioneers whose arms were the axe and the rifle, sturdy farmers and hardy fishermen from the older settlements, of almost pure English blood, with a slight mingling of Scotch-Irish from Londonderry, were not, on the face of things likely to be timid and weak."⁵¹ Lodge comments on the British soldiers marching "up to the redoubt as they would have paraded to check the advance of a city mob" and stresses that Americans needed to combine discipline with the accuracy of their marksmanship and "to produce a leader, recognize him when found, concentrate in him all the power and meaning it had, rise out of anarchy and chaos into order and light, and follow one man through victory and defeat to ultimate triumph."⁵²

Clearly Lodge's agenda here involves the racial purity of the older Anglo-Saxon stock (on both sides of the Revolutionary conflict) and an anxiety about urban mobs, anarchy, and chaos, to be held in check by a centralizing authority. George Washington is

the obvious historical referent here, but in 1898 was it McKinley? It would shortly be Theodore Roosevelt, after his march up San Juan Hill in July 1898.⁵³ When the book version of *The Story of the Revolution* appeared later that year, Lodge dedicated it "To the Army and Navy of the United States, Victors of Manila, Santiago and Porto Rico, Worthy Successors of the Soldiers and Sailors who under the lead of George Washington won American Independence." Lodge's text, like his politics and participation in the Immigration Restriction League, used history to strengthen the bonds with a long British tradition and constructed the continuity between that past and the imperialist policy of the Republican Party of these years.

The visual material in this volume of *Scribner's* offers an interesting counterpoint, which makes the contemporary relevance of these issues equally clear. In a series of articles by Walter Wyckoff on contemporary urban workers in the West, W. R. Leigh provides visions of their lodging, poverty, and unemployment and pictures them at police lodging houses. These are heavy images, backed by texts equally troubled by "the men themselves, how widely severed from all things human is the prevailing type." One needs to read the "Revolutionary" imagery of the eighteenth century against this anxiety about the potentiality for revolution in the late-nineteenth-century present.

50. Howard Pyle, *The Battle of Bunker Hill*, 1898, oil on canvas, 59.1 x 89.5 cm (23 1/4 x 35 1/4 in.). Delaware Art Museum, Howard Pyle Collection.



In this context, the most problematic image in the Lodge series is Pyle's *Battle of Bunker Hill* (Fig. 50), an oil painting that became in black and white the frontispiece of the February 1898 issue of *Scribner's*. The long caption comments on the image: precisely naming the time, participants, and movement of the right and left wings and then pulling us back from these close-up identifications to name the ship in the harbor and to identify both the white smoke and the black. Shifts over time and space are the nonvisual elements stressed by the caption. The brilliance of the sunlight and contrasts of color (especially the red coats and golden field against white-and-lavender cloud forms) are lost in the graphic translation; but the essential design of the image remains.⁵⁴

But what is the effect—or more precisely, the affect—of this carefully mapped and labeled image? Our access involves stepping over the splayed bodies of the carefully dressed regimentals, whose uniforms have not protected them from death. The lines of marching men with their staccato of pointed bayonets arching into the background seem to organize the space of the image, until we realize that their compacted and repetitious forms, the impersonal machinery of an “army,” divides the larger plane of the tilted landscape. The regiment is propelled by the sound of those drummers behind them, near and far. The upper-right third of the hill with its echo diagonals of stone walls is the landscape space of the rebel Americans, the “Bunker Hill” on which these British soldiers intrude, as the billowing clouds above, black and white, symbolically reenact the conflict. In a letter of 26 December 1897 to his friend Winthrop Scudder, sometime art editor for Houghton Mifflin, Pyle writes of his proposed mural of Bunker Hill for the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Surely the image that was “very clear” in his mind at the time was based on this just-completed work: “to show the sunlight, the heat and the desperate human earnestness of the grim red-coated heroes marching up that hill to their death.”⁵⁵ Was Pyle attracted to the order and discipline, the unswerving commitment of the uniformed “heroes?” In his *Nation Makers* (1903), Americans marching in the opposite direction look like a ragged rabble by comparison.⁵⁶ Pyle seems caught between his desire to find continuities to a British heritage of order, elegance, and power and to a raw energy associated with a rabble-democracy of New England rural strength but differentiated from the working-class urban immi-



51. N. C. Wyeth, *At Concord Bridge*, 1921–23, oil on canvas, 83.8 x 76.2 cm (33 x 30 in.). From the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. S. Hallock duPont, Jr.

grant poor. In this, his art gave shape to a shared ambivalence of the period over the meaning of New England as place and marker for the national experience.

Pyle passed this perspective on to his students and disciples, men and women like Violet Oakley, Frank Schoonover, and, most remarkably, N. C. Wyeth. One does not immediately associate Wyeth with New England—he is part of “the Brandywine tradition”—but he was born in Needham, Massachusetts, in 1882 of New England stock on his father’s side and French-Swiss heritage on his mother’s.⁵⁷ Grandfather Zirngiebel was a botanical colleague of Louis Agassiz at Harvard. N. C. Wyeth trained first in Boston, before joining his fellow New Englander Clifford Ashley (later well known for his illustrated whaling books and marine paintings) in Wilmington, Delaware, at the renowned apprenticeship program for illustrators conducted by Howard Pyle. The result of a 1904 class assignment was Wyeth’s *At Concord Bridge*, which ap-

peared as an illustration in the Butterick Company fashion magazine, *The Delineator*.⁵⁸ We have traveled a long way from the elegant bronze *Minute Man* of Daniel Chester French at “the rude bridge that arched the flood.” In a letter to his mother he explained, “My point of view is from the ‘Britishers’ positions looking into the faces of these grim farmers who are nervously waiting for the English to fire first. Every one of them tense with anger and excitement, shuffling and grumbling, anxious to plug the redcoats in front of them!”⁵⁹ From 1921 to 1923 a mature and successful Wyeth was back in Needham, producing for Boston banks historical murals and a series of four oils that would become bank-holiday posters. One was a Thanksgiving Pilgrim scene; another was *At Concord Bridge*, a reworking of his 1904 image (Fig. 51). It is not merely that with Wyeth the point of view has shifted once more, from identification with the idealized elegant inheritor of the British tradition, to the visual observer of events, to the ambivalent glorifier of imperial power. Just when Congress was passing restrictive immigration legislation, Wyeth’s American rebels are prepared to fight off all intruders, militantly blocking the pathway into their American space.

Wyeth’s image transforms into an aggressive nationalism the late-nineteenth-century attempt to reclaim a British heritage, to recast the imagery of the Puritan and Revolutionary past in order to build bridges back to an “Anglo-Saxon” past in the face of a socially and economically transformed America that was increasingly marginalizing New England culture. The strident masculinity of Wyeth’s imagery was a major shift from the careful inclusiveness of the earlier period, of the balancing of gender claims—albeit often traditional ones, but still actively supported by women writers, artists, and scholars.⁶⁰

Form and Tradition in Brahmin Portraiture

During the last third of the nineteenth century many key New Englanders were the subjects of portraits, from the three abolitionist figures in the 1869 *Fugitive's Story* (see Fig. 1) to Frank Benson's grand 1893 image of that other aging abolitionist, Thomas Wentworth Higginson (see Fig. 60). Portraiture had dominated the visual language in New England from the 1670s through the colonial period, climaxing in the work of John Singleton Copley and with a continuing strength through the nineteenth century. Artist and patron collaborated to define, create, project, and memorialize the role and status of the sitter for their various audiences in private parlors and public spaces like Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth or the Redwood Library in Newport. The Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut, the first major art museum in New England, opened its doors in 1844. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts was founded after the Civil War, in 1870, as was New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, and similar institutions were established over the next thirty years in other major cities. Portrait images stayed largely in private hands until the twentieth century, since during this period museums were collecting European, classical, and in some cases Asian art. Known to historians and other scholars and exhibited on occasion (Boston had a major Gilbert Stuart exhibition in 1880), these images trickled into public collections over time,⁶¹ and graphic versions of paintings, miniatures, early mezzotints, sculptural busts, and full-length images peppered the pages of magazines and books on colonial and Revolutionary history.⁶²

Some major sculptural monuments of the period reached toward historical statement through a biographical model. The commission to French from a Boston businessman in 1883 for a large public statue of John Harvard (Fig. 52) to honor the early benefactor of the university was an ideal task, since no portrait of the minister existed. French worked up the costume with care, consulting with Charles Deane at the Massachusetts Historical Society. The large Bible resting on Harvard's leg signaled his character as "reverend, god-like, and a lover

of learning." As for the portrait head, as French later wrote, "in looking about for a type of the early comers to our shores, I chose a lineal descendant of them for my model in the general structure of the face, Sherman Hoar of Concord."⁶³ In his use of a present New Englander's portrait as "type" of the historical past, French was grafting onto the language of biblical typology a physiognomy of racial characteristics used during these years to differentiate the "old stock" from the newer immigrant groups now contending for place and power.⁶⁴

This same process is evident in another ideal portrait, the image known as *The Puritan* (Fig. 53). Chester W. Chapin, congressman, president of the Boston and Albany Railroad, and reputedly the wealthiest resident of Springfield, Massachusetts, commissioned Augustus Saint-Gaudens to produce the work. An earlier commission for a statue commemorating early settlers of Massachusetts had already been carried out by John Quincy Adams Ward for the New England Society of the City of New York and placed in Central Park, but it was a rather fussy piece of costuming, with high-top boots folded down, a bandolier of fuses hanging across the front, and open sleeve work.⁶⁵ Saint-Gaudens was to represent

52. Daniel Chester French, *John Harvard*, 1883, bronze, height, 180 cm (70 1/4 in.). Photograph courtesy of the Harvard University Archives.





53. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *The Puritan* (Deacon Samuel Chapin), 1887, bronze, 77.5 x 52.1 x 30.5 cm (30 1/2 x 20 1/2 x 12 in.). Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia. The Charles G. Thalhimer Family Fund. © 1999 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

his patron's ancestor, Deacon Samuel Chapin, one of the founders of Springfield. The work was presented to that city and unveiled in Stearns Square in 1887. The Chapin family helped develop the appropriate costume, including the inevitable buckled steeple-crown hat, and Chester Chapin was the model for the figure's head. After numerous sketches, Saint-Gaudens gave the image its final form—at least for the time being—muting the excessive detail of the Ward piece through the use of the enclosing yet flowing and unifying long cloak, which contains and controls the juxtaposition of the striding right side with its assertive wooden cudgel and the somewhat withdrawing left arm holding the Bible. The work captures the life of action and of thought or as Saint-Gaudens, a good Beaux-Arts student of the Italian Renaissance, would have understood it, the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*.

Two subsequent events shed further light on the cultural functioning of the commission. The ambitious urban plan for Stearns Square involved a large architectural and landscape surround designed by Stanford White. It "would have been unusually effective," recalled Saint-Gaudens. "At the time we placed it there, however, the quarter of the city was poor, and in a few weeks the boys had destroyed everything in the way of vegetation."⁶⁶ The statue was removed from this neighborhood to the hill adjacent to the

townhouses of the city's elite, where it was ultimately surrounded by Springfield's cultural institutions: the gleaming white classical city library, the gothic Episcopal church, and the art museum, by 1896 a brick and terra-cotta Renaissance palazzo known today after its founder as the George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum.

The New England Society of Philadelphia subsequently approached Saint-Gaudens for a version of the statue to be placed in their City Hall Plaza, as a regional counterweight to the literally towering presence of Benjamin Franklin. Although the family resemblance was important to the Springfield commission as a "direct ancestor, . . . Mr. Chapin's face is round and Gaelic in character, so in the Philadelphia work I changed the features completely, giving them the long, New England type, beside altering the folds of the cloak in many respects, the legs, the left hand, and the Bible," turning the book around so that its spine reading "Holy Bible" was clearly visible.⁶⁷ For this commission, patron and artist used site and physiognomy to nationalize and racialize New England in a gesture of spiritual conquest. The new version was entitled *The Pilgrim*, as if the two names were interchangeable, although the shift in title would also differentiate the new commission. What the general public thought and thinks of these two public statues is an open



54. John Singer Sargent, *Ellen Peabody (Mrs. William Crowninshield) Endicott*, 1901, oil on canvas, 162.9 x 114.3 cm (64 1/8 x 45 in.). Gift of Louise Thoron Endicott in memory of Mr. and Mrs. William Crowninshield Endicott (1951.20.1). © 1998 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

question, but the program of placing such Puritan/Pilgrim images outside New England bespeaks a desire, a concern, even perhaps an anxiety on the part of New England societies to insist on the visual presence of American origins.

There was, of course, an ample memory bank of images of earlier New Englanders for French, Saint-Gaudens, Cyrus Dallin, and others to draw on. Martha Babcock Amory died just before the publication of her *Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley, R.A., with Notices of His Works, and Reminiscences of His Son, Lord Lyndhurst, by His Granddaughter* (1882). Not only did the work make available an important collection of family letters and other primary materials on Copley,⁶⁸ it also clarifies a late-nineteenth-century Bostonian strategy for strengthening the bonds between the New England elite and the British aristocratic world of the author's uncle, Baron Lyndhurst. Since, according to repeated comments by Lyndhurst, Copley had never seen a serious work of art until he went abroad, Amory creates an artist who is a self-made genius in a visually barren New England. This enables her to forge the connection back to the Old World and thus strengthen the social bonds between her own aristocratic Boston and her grandfather Copley's past, stressing his links to Loyalists and to those whose ties to Brit-

ain were strongest.⁶⁹ This contrasts the emphasis placed by later scholars on his "Americanness,"⁷⁰ often using the *Revere* portrait as a key example.

Martha Babcock Amory and her social cohort were also clearly successful participants in the famous Lyndhurst sale of Copley's remaining works in 1864, and this suggests a second key to the importance of portraiture in creating old New England in these years.⁷¹ The patronage and ownership of these older portraits and their display extended into the late-nineteenth-century present and reinforced the production and distribution of contemporary portraiture in Brahmin Boston.

A notable example may illuminate this process: John Singer Sargent's large 1901 portrait of Ellen Peabody (Mrs. William Crowninshield) Endicott (Fig. 54), was painted in London and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1902 and the next year and thereafter at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, not far from the Endicott home at 163 Marlborough Street. This was the newly fashionable Back Bay area anatomized by William Dean Howells in *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1884). With the influx of immigrant groups into the back side of Beacon Hill, the Back Bay had also become a haven for some former denizens of Beacon Street and their institutions. When an open square was established there, with public buildings, including the 1879 Museum of Fine Arts, of which William Endicott had been a founding trustee and president, the space was named Copley Square. The Massachusetts Historical Society moved to the area in 1899.⁷² Sargent was, like so many New England artists



55. Portrait of Mrs. William C. Endicott by John Singer Sargent, *in situ* (in the dining room of the William C. Endicott House, 163 Marlborough Street, Boston), March 14, 1913. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.



56. Portrait of John Endicott, *in situ* (in the dining room of the William C. Endicott House, 163 Marlborough Street, Boston), March 14, 1913. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

and intellectuals, clearly equally at home in Boston and London, with patronage in both centers. His portrait of Mrs. Endicott, like other of his portraits, plays on its Bostonian roots in its pictorial allusions to Copley's portraits of older women.

Contemporary photographs of the Sargent portrait show how the consciously antiquarian cast of the work functioned in the dining room (Fig. 55). The image of Mrs. Endicott is large. She sits, perfectly erect, in an antique chair with a table to her right. Under the table at the lower-left edge is just a hint of a Chinese pot, which links the austere figure in black with the aesthetic decor of the dining room in which the picture hangs. The sideboard with its Chinese porcelain reminds us that both the Peabody and Crowninshield forebears of the late eighteenth century were Salem maritime families in the East Indies trade. The wallpaper and dado, in stark contrast to the sober figure, create a dynamic strongly reminiscent of Copley's strategies in his well-known portrait of Mrs. Thomas Boylston of 1766.⁷³ To the right of the curtained window is a smaller, thoroughly conventional portrait of the sitter's husband. Around the corner to its right, above another aesthetic sideboard with fretwork and set off by a Japanese screen, hangs a version of the popular seventeenth-century portrait of Puritan governor John Endicott, his moustache and goatee echoed in that of his descendant to his right (Fig. 56).⁷⁴ In this congeries of styles, this aesthetic mixing of periods and places, of past and present, Mrs. Endicott's solemn posture feels like a stabilizing domestic presence, a physical reenactment of older values—the somberness of the black dress suggesting perhaps even that they are lost?—amid the varied symbols of wealth, here so tastefully aestheticized.

John White Alexander's *Portrait of Sarah de St. Prix (Wyman) Whitman* (Fig. 57) offers a stunning contrast to the Endicott image. Alexander was a fashionable fin de siècle practitioner of female portraiture, specializing in idealized images of women wearing sweeping long gowns that follow art nouveau curves. His image of Sarah Whitman plays this dynamic in the loosely brushed-in background against the quiet splendor, regal pose, and contemplative glance of the figure itself. Whitman was an exhibiting Bostonian painter of landscapes, still lifes, and portraits as well as a book and stained-glass designer in the Maine coastal world of Sarah Orne Jewett. She was also on the governing board of Radcliffe College and a major benefactor of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, among her many philanthropies. The Whitman portrait distills the complex and varied active achievements of this Brahmin leader into an image of quiet power and lavish wealth and a look hovering between hauteur and withdrawal.⁷⁵

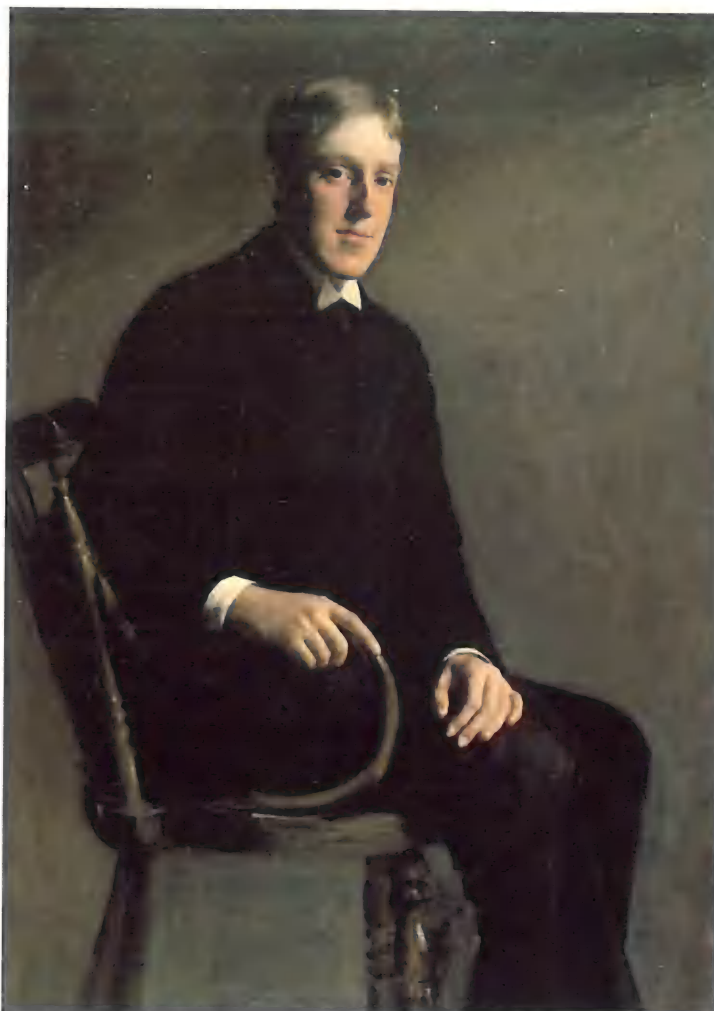
57. John White Alexander,
Portrait of Sarah de St. Prix
 (Wyman) Whitman, ca. 1904,
 oil on canvas, 128.2 x 102.6 cm
 (50 x 40 in.). Courtesy of
 Childs Gallery, Boston.



Some portrait images of New England worthies of this era, like Sargent's *Mrs. Endicott*, seem consciously fashioned to allude to the American "colonial" past specifically, while others appropriate the "Western" heritage of art history more broadly to anchor the represented figures in a complex of older values and, in the process, reclaim that heritage as their own. Dennis Miller Bunker's *John Lowell Gardner II* (Fig. 58) deploys what was for New Englanders a well-known Copley colonial formula of the three-quarter view, with accent on the strongly lit head and hands, the sitter swiveling to right or left in a Windsor chair close to the picture plane to confront the viewer. The tension in the portrait of the young Gardner, in its stiff propriety, is different from that in Copley's wry old *Eleazer Tyng* (Fig. 59), seated in his Windsor chair, to mention but one. Gardner's elegant hand gestures, posture, and wing collar bespeak a formality, a reserve, a withholding. Bunker may have complained to a friend, "I'll be hanged if I can see how the charming verses of Mr. Longfellow or the essays of Mr. Emerson can make up to a man for the loss of the Louvre,"⁷⁶ but this young friend of Isabella Stewart Gardner, aunt of his portrait subject, knew how to adapt the Boston portrait tradition to his Bostonian subject.

58. Dennis Miller Bunker,
John Lowell Gardner II, 1888,
 oil on canvas, 127.0 x 91.4 cm
 (50 x 36 in.). Portland Museum
 of Art, Maine. Gift of The
 Reverend George Gardner
 Monks, Commander John P.
 Monks, and Mrs. Constantine
 A. Pertzoff (1944.1).

59. John Singleton Copley,
Eleazer Tyng, 1772, oil on
 canvas, 126.5 x 100.2 cm
 (49 3/4 x 40 1/8 in.). Gift
 of the Avalon Foundation.
 © 1998 Board of Trustees,
 National Gallery of Art,
 Washington.





60. Frank W. Benson, *Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (1823–1911), 1893, oil on canvas, 127.2 × 101.6 cm (50 × 40 in.). Courtesy of the Harvard Portrait Collection, purchased by Harvard College from the Colonial Club, 1929.

Frank Benson's version of the Copley formula in his portrait of Thomas Wentworth Higginson (Fig. 60) puts the sitter in an even more modern cane chair, the curvilinear forms of which call attention to themselves rather than recede politely to support the distinguished minister, reformer, and writer. Might they be construed as Benson's acknowledgment of the "modernity" of Higginson within the conservative older families of New England, retaining his abolitionist-feminist openness into his old age?

If one looks across the kinds of portraiture done of and for New England Brahmins during these years, one is struck by the degree to which they are historicized in one way or another, located in relation to some older pictorial tradition. The traditions vary beyond the native New England Copley version we have been examining. Some, like the female portraits or the pictures of mothers with children by George de Forest Brush, clearly draw on Italian Renaissance models by Bronzino and Botticelli.⁷⁷ Olin Warner's little head of Thomas Allen, Jr. (1889), son of the Boston painter, is indebted to Desiderio da Settignano, although an 1892 reviewer thought it had "something of that immu-

table grace, that abiding dignity which we find in antique art."⁷⁸

For a classical version of the sculptural portrait *alla antica*, one could turn to Daniel Chester French's bust of Emerson (Fig. 61), carved in marble for Harvard and cast in multiple bronzes over several years.⁷⁹ Another version appeared in the head of Lowell commissioned by the Grolier Club in New York (Fig. 62). From a photograph furnished by his Harvard colleague Charles Eliot Norton, Charles Calverley produced in 1896 a bronze medallion in which Lowell, with flowing beard and double-breasted coat, is surrounded by a laurel garland. The medallion carries a Latin inscription from the Book of Ecclesiastes. It is a remarkable instance of the translation over time of the New England cultural leader. Lowell—the prewar abolitionist and creator of the vernacular voice of the *Bigelow Papers* and *The Courtin'*, colleague of James T. Fields and editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, early summer visitor and poet of the Isles of Shoals, and later American ambassador to the Court of Saint James—becomes, on his death, an image encrusted with biblical and classical associations.

We can measure the distance traveled by comparing the Lowell, based on a photograph, with a pair of photographs of his friends James T. Fields and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow taken by the British artist Julia Margaret Cameron during trips by the sitters to England in 1869 and 1868, respectively (Figs. 63, 64).⁸⁰ Longfellow was a much-portrayed figure, his fame in these years eliciting images in paint and in marble as well as in paper constructions and on film, in settings that ranged from his colonial Vassal House on Brattle Street, Cambridge (Fig. 65), to the Arch of Titus in Rome.⁸¹ The special quality of the Cameron photograph of Longfellow is its duplication in the parallel image of his friend and publisher Fields the following year. Both are treated in profile, wrapped in velvet, giving them a distinctly Byronic cast as dark, brooding figures, although both poet and publisher were eminently outgoing public men. The images isolate the head for special study,

61. Daniel Chester French,
Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1879,
cast 1901, bronze, height 57.2
cm (22 5/8 in.). National
Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian
Institution. (NPG 74.13).



62. Charles Calverley, *Portrait Relief: James Russell Lowell*, 1896, bronze, diameter 17.2 cm (6 3/4 in.). Gift of the Council of the Grolier Club, Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

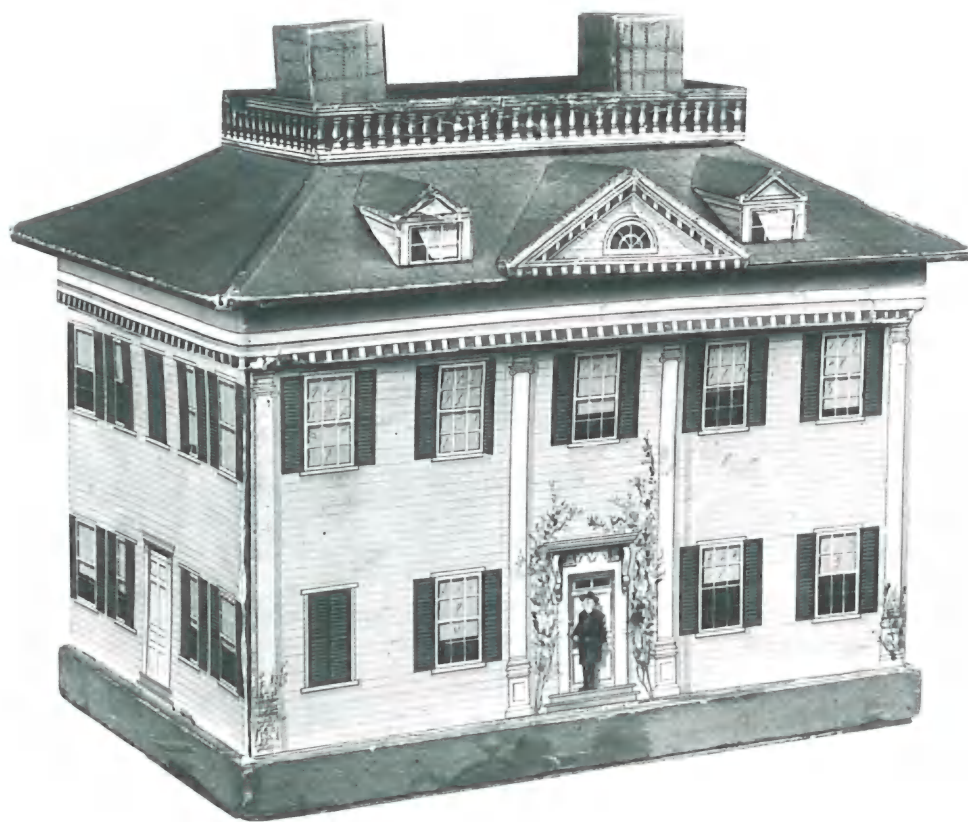


63. Julia Margaret Cameron,
James Thomas Fields, 1869,
albumen silver print, 32.5 x 26.1
cm (12 13/16 x 10 1/4 in.).
National Portrait Gallery,
Smithsonian Institution
(NPG.83.194).



64. Julia Margaret Cameron,
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow,
1868, albumen silver print,
34.2 x 26.8 cm (13 1/2 x 10
1/2 in.). National Portrait
Gallery, Smithsonian
Institution (NPG.82.61).

65. Louis Prang, *Longfellow House Stationery Box*, 1883, chromolithograph, 20.5 x 23 x 16.0 cm (8 x 9 x 6 1/4 in.). Courtesy National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.



the velvet absorbing light and making the figures float free of any spatial (or cultural?) context.

The Cameron images are consciously retrospective and fluid in their Anglo-New England cosmopolitanism. They recall the comment of the worldly, snobbishly amoral young American narrator in Henry James's early story, "Four Meetings" (1877), who warns a well-read but naive young schoolteacher in rural Grimwinter, New England, to go to Europe soon before the sublime and picturesque have disappeared from the Castle of Chillon and elsewhere, for "Europe was getting sadly dis-Byronized."

Of all the representations of New Englanders at the end of the nineteenth century, the greatest by far—arguably the finest American sculptures of the nineteenth century—were two memorial pieces by Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Born a Huguenot in Dublin, Ireland, raised in New York, trained as a sculptor in Paris at the Académie des Beaux-Arts, Saint-Gaudens came to New England through marriage to Augusta Homer; they bought a house and studio in Cornish, New Hampshire, in 1885. The works in question, the *Adams Memorial* (Fig. 66) and the *Shaw Memorial* (Fig. 67), crystallize issues from opposing angles. The former, commissioned by the widower Henry Adams—grandson and great-grandson of two New England presidents, scholar, novelist, critic—is a memorial to his wife, the brilliant Boston blue-blood Marian Hooper Adams, who took her own life in 1885. The abstracted, ideal representation moves away from the New England culture that shaped her and her Hooper family: from the dress of her fashionable time and place, from the photography that gave some expression to her imagination, from the gender role that defined her relationship to her husband and yet left her childless, and from the depression that defined another bond, between her and her recently dead father.⁸² All these markers have been eliminated, erased, at the behest of the patron Adams and with the complicity of the artist.

The result is a powerful, moving, and finally terrifying image, couched in a generalizing classicism, of a robed, vaguely female figure who has no apparent place in

66. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *Adams Memorial*, 1886–91, *in situ* (Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D.C., 1984).

67. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *Shaw Memorial*, 1884–97, *in situ* (Boston Common, Boston, Massachusetts, 1990).





68. Dedication Ceremony, *Crispus Attucks Monument*, Boston Common, Boston, Massachusetts, November 14, 1888. Courtesy of The Bostonian Society/Old State House.

her culture. The Priscilla in John Rogers's group and other images, by contrast, has a cultural voice and gender role, as she asks her John Alden to speak for himself (see Fig. 37).⁸³ In *Checkers Up at the Farm* mother and child watch two male players (see Fig. 14); and even the anonymous black woman with child in *The Fugitive's Story* (see Fig. 1) has a voice to speak to the male abolitionist leaders. But the shrouded figure of the *Adams Memorial* has withdrawn completely inward. She may be, as some would have it, the Buddhist goddess of mercy, Kwannon, who rests in a peace that passeth understanding. Such a world of contemplation attracted Henry Adams, some of his friends, New England scholars and collectors of Asian art, and other late-nineteenth-century New England pilgrims who could find no "grace,"

no thanksgiving in traditional Christian forms of worship and belief.⁸⁴ The beauty and power of the memorial is finally private and isolated from its historical New England roots. It is a nameless monument, with only an egg-and-dart molding at the top and a ribbon-bound laurel wreath at the base, quiet echoes of a classical world. Finally, its site is Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington, D.C., not New England.

The *Shaw Memorial* is the opposite of the *Adams* in all respects, except in the perfect adequacy of the forms to fulfill its quite different artistic intentions. Dedicated in 1897, the *Shaw Memorial* was the result of a long series of negotiations in New England over how to give shape and form to the black presence in Massachusetts culture. In this respect it had its roots in the black community's much earlier demand for a monument on Boston Common to the Revolutionary War hero Crispus Attucks (Fig. 68). The *Shaw Memorial* is a monument to the heroism of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth black regiment in the Civil War, and to Robert Gould Shaw, the young white colonel who led the regiment, died, and was buried in a trench

69. African-American Marchers in front of *Shaw Memorial*, Boston Common, Boston, Massachusetts, 1897. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.





70. Edmonia Lewis, *Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*, 1867 modeled from 1864 image, marble, 59 x 33.3 x 23 cm (23 x 13 x 9 in.). The Museum of Afro American History, Boston, Massachusetts.

“with his niggers” after the unsuccessful assault and defeat at Fort Wagner, South Carolina, in 1863. (In this sense, the *Shaw Memorial* is like the Bunker Hill Monument across the harbor.) The story of these black soldiers and their leader has been frequently told, by different speakers, in different voices, and to different audiences, and the record of these re-presentations in various forms continues to grow: the carving of the names of the fallen black soldiers onto the base of the monument in 1981, the film *Glory* (1989), which focused on the interactions between the white and black New England participants, and most recently the reenactments and critical reevaluations in 1997 at the one-hundredth anniversary of the original dedication.⁸⁵

All this sheds light on the story here of the post-Civil War reshaping of old New England. The recent events remind us that each age reshapes history to its own needs, and the new voices of 1997 bespeak the absences and silences of earlier versions of a New England history in which the role of black fugitive slaves, black citizens, and black soldiers was controlled and given voice primarily by a white leadership. When Henry Ward Beecher spoke of “the man that dared to lead the poor and oppressed out of their oppression, died with them and for them, and was buried with them,”⁸⁶ the black narrative was appropriated once again and Shaw turned into a white Christ. Others contributed to the process—Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the committee authorizing the monument, the sculptural hand and mind of Saint-Gaudens, and those who defined its

meaning verbally at the dedication and afterward: philosopher William James and former governor John Albion Andrew. Booker T. Washington also spoke, as one black voice (who was known to preach moderation), and the black veterans marched (Fig. 69).

There is, of course, a difference between contemporary photographic images of the black presence at dedication ceremonies and their artistic and imaginative presence during the period. To pose that question, we must turn to the most important evidence of all, the monument itself, which offers us insight into the different and conflicting rhetorics regarding the meaning of the New England past. The figure of Robert Gould Shaw is at the center, young martyr of the old Boston aristocracy, whose death had prompted the young African- and Native-American sculptor Edmonia Lewis to fashion a small bust in 1863–4 to sell in multiple copies in the Boston area (Fig. 70). It was her ticket to Rome, her way of tapping the old abolitionist idealism to finance her escape to the classical center of the art world, although her ongoing need for patronage in Rome involved a continuing and complex relation to the writings of Longfellow—not the Puritan or Revolutionary War tales of Longfellow but his Native-American stories, especially *Evangeline*.⁸⁷

The difference in scale between the tiny Lewis head of Shaw, fit for a parlor cabinet, and the colossal bronze public figural group by Saint-Gaudens itself suggests the differences in resources these two sculptors could marshal and the needs of their audiences. Based on photographic representations, as was the Lewis sculpture, the equestrian figure of Shaw is filtered through a grand tradition of heroic leadership: spatially to Thomas Ball’s *George Washington* at the other end of the Boston

Garden (rather than his *Paul Revere* [see Fig. 136]) and historically to the Renaissance Colleoni monument of Verrocchio in Venice and the ancient bronze figure of Marcus Aurelius on Michelangelo's Campidoglio at the very center of Roman power.⁸⁸ The leadership role of the older Boston families is thus given historical extension, placing Shaw above, beside, and among "his men."

The facial features of the soldiers are highly individualized, based on Saint-Gaudens's numerous studies of individual African Americans. The repetition of their uniforms and vertical rhythm of their rifles bring the group together and reinforce the forward motion, the testing of male power. Their sculptural rhetoric is in the realistic mode. The ordinary soldiers march in contrast to their elegant leader. The democratic mass is juxtaposed to the elevated officer reining in and controlling the power of his steed so that it walks in rhythm with the marching men. They share one another's "animal strength," and only Shaw seems rigidly immobile. If Saint-Gaudens's earlier *Puritan* (see Fig. 53) combined action and thought, the hand and the spirit, the *Shaw Monument* is keyed to a stylistic rhetoric that differentiates the people from its elite leadership. It takes a direction we have seen in the work of period illustrators, until, in Wyeth's *At Concord Bridge* (see Fig. 51), the sword Shaw extends downward falls into the swashbuckling hand of the democratic mob. Clearly in the memorial monument, the old New England hegemony—so bitterly ironic that it comes in the form of the young dead Shaw—reasserts its power over ordinary people, still the object of abolitionist idealism. Given the heightened racism of the turn of the century, this reconstruction must strike us as ironic.

And what of the rhetoric of women? From helpmate and mother, spirit of the hearth and the spinning wheel, the woman is transformed in the Shaw monument into the floating spirit of victory, the classically garbed Republic whom the men sacrifice all to serve. In this transmutation of a Boston Ann Page,⁸⁹ of a strong woman into a symbolic form, the cultural priorities are clear in the very modeling of the figures: the fully three-dimensional reincarnated old New England leadership, the echo of the older abolitionist idealism (now a group of soldiers skillfully dissolving into the background), and the fully idealized feminine beauty evanescent in lowest relief and disappearing into the surrounding cornice. A hierarchy exists, and the *Shaw Monument* gives voice to different parts of the New England community but contains and controls their expression in the name of both the gold-domed State House across the street and the cultural community that sustains it. It would not be until 1922, after the passage of the women's suffrage amendment, that Cyrus Dallin's image of the Puritan rebel Anne Hutchinson would finally find her place there on the State House lawn.

Notes

1. Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 61, 62.
2. The early part, with the landing at Plymouth, had been available since 1841 (see Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*). The story of the manuscript, its recovery, eventual return (with much fanfare) to Massachusetts in 1897, and subsequent scholarly treatment, is told by Morison in the introduction to his 1953 edition of Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*. In the midst of the Cold War, Morison argued for the "timelessness" of the Bradford history but read it as a cautionary lesson for his own generation: "More than once to this little band, as to people of free nations in our own time, came the awful question: 'Can we possibly survive?' In the discussion over building the fort (Chapter xiii) we seem to see, as through a glass, the great debate of our own time, the balance of military security against preserving a certain way of life" (xi).
3. Cooper mocked the possibility in the preface and opening chapters of *The Red Rover* (1828; Thomas and Marianne Philbrick, eds., Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991) or Longfellow's "The Skeleton in Armor" (1841); see the historical notes in the 1893 Cambridge edition of his complete poetical works, 659.
4. In fact, Hooker started out for Connecticut from Newtown [Cambridge], Massachusetts, where he was minister; but Church seemed intent on reinforcing the Plymouth origin myth. For the painting, see Kornhauser, *American Paintings*, 1:195–96.
5. For the history of the Isles of Shoals, see Susan C. Faxon, Alice Downey, and Peter Bermingham, *A Stern and Lovely Scene: A Visual History of the Isles of Shoals* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Art Galleries, 1978), 9–83.
6. See Buell, *New England Literary Culture*, esp. pt. 3, "Reinventing Puritanism," 193–280. Hawthorne's efforts stand in stark contrast to the melodramatic version of Salem witchcraft in Tompkins Matteson's painting *Trial of George Jacobs for Witchcraft* (1855), which shows the accused old man a victim of both hysterical adolescent female accusers and harsh judges.
7. Drake, *Witchcraft Delusion*, 1: iii, x. Drake's beautifully printed edition of *Witchcraft Delusion* was limited to seventy copies; his *Annals of Witchcraft in New England* was printed in an edition of 275 copies. Clearly Drake conceived his audience as bibliophile as well as filiopietistic. The visual parallel to these works is the powerful *Witch Hill or the Salem Martyr* (1869) by Thomas Satterwhite Noble. Noble's use of abolitionist imagery before the war prepares him for this subject, investing the woman with power under stress. See Birchfield, *Noble*, 74.
8. "Thanksgiving," *Harper's Weekly* 11 (30 November 1867): 753–54; the accompanying two full-page plates—Ehninger's Puritan image, *Thanksgiving Dinner among the Puritans*, and W. S. L. Jewett's contemporary scene, *A Thanksgiving Dinner among Their Descendants*—are at 760–61. For two earlier Thanksgiving visual sequences, by Winslow Homer, see Stein, "Picture and Text," 36–39. An even earlier image pitting a contemporary parlor scene against Thanksgiving in Plymouth (in a log cabin!), surrounded by emblems of Peace, Plenty, and Liberty, appeared in Gleason's *Pictorial Drawing Room Companion* (November 1854) and is illustrated in Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fireside*, 262.
9. For a marvelous rendering of the strains from one distinctly New England retrospective point of view, see "Battle of the Rams," chap. 11, in Adams, *Education*.
10. There is a large literature on this: see, for example, Sturges, ed., *Rural Vision*; Sellin, *Americans in Brittany and Normandy*; Burke, *Nourse*; Rainey and Stein, *Woodward*; and most recently, Meixner, *French Realist Painting and the Critique of American Society*.
11. See Henry James, "Our Artists in Europe," *Harper's Monthly* 79 (June 1889): 50–66, for a discussion of the group of artists whom James knew, especially as they congregated at Broadway—Frank Millet, Abbey, Alfred Parsons, George Du Maurier, Charles S. Reinhart, and Boughton: "the country that Mr. Boughton left behind him in his youth is no longer there; the 'old New York' is no longer a port to sail to, unless for phantom ships. In imagination, however, the author of 'The Return of the Mayflower' has several times taken his way back; he has painted with conspicuous charm and success various episodes of the early Puritan story" (61). See also Simpson, "Reconstructing the Golden Age."
12. Rainey and Stein, *Woodward*, 22; Strahan, ed., *Art Treasures of America*, 2:117–22.
13. As a graphic form, to cite almost arbitrarily from the many examples, one might instance the image in James W. Garner and Henry Cabot Lodge, *The History of the United States* (Philadelphia: Morris, 1906), 1:251; or its place in a two-page spread of Boughton images in Hart, "Pilgrims," 20–21. Distributed for school use, a kind of *Weekly Reader* of its era, this thirty-five-page pamphlet further broadcast Boughton's images. As a painting, Waugh's *Puritans* was exhibited at the Art Club of Philadelphia, *Second Special Exhibition* (1890). For a photographic version, see Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 125, which couples a 1910 pageant photograph with the second smaller 1872 replica of the Boughton painting; and for a later usage, see Stephen Eddy Snow, "The Development of a Performative Representation of the Pilgrims at Modern Plymouth Plantation," in *Performing the Pilgrims: A Study of Ethnohistorical Role-Playing at Plimoth Plantation* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), chap. 2, which begins with a citation of a 1627 account of a march to Fort Meeting House and the Boughton painting (21–22).
14. My own 1940s childhood memories of this image have elicited from readers of this essay similar schoolroom recollections, from very different parts of the country, suggesting that this was the formative image of who the Puritans "were."
15. Bartlett, *Pilgrim Fathers*, 236–37. Bartlett was a British travel writer and artist who had been in America first in 1836 and 1837 to work on an immensely popular collaborative project with N. P. Willis called *American Scenery* (1840–42). His *Pilgrim Fathers* was another pitch for an international market, with lovely vignettes of England, Holland, and New England.

16. The quoted passage was, in fact, a citation by Bartlett in an appendix about the dangers in the later devastation of the Puritans' war against Philip of Pokanoket, a continuously troubling and ambiguous event in American historical accounts. Washington Irving, for example, had made Philip a heroic figure in *The Sketch Book* (1820).
17. As others have pointed out, it bears some resemblance to the tonal experiments of his friend James Whistler, including that austere image of his New England mother (see Huntington and Pyne, *Quest for Unity*, 49–50).
18. Also based on the Bartlett, *Pilgrim Fathers* (see Merseyside County Council, *American Artists in Europe*, 12, pl. 26).
19. Section 5 of *The Courtship of Miles Standish* is entitled "The Sailing of the *Mayflower*." For other Boughtons on this theme, see Hart, "Pilgrims." The motif was explored also by Birge Harrison and J. L. G. Ferris. Harrison's large image of 1887 was exhibited at the Columbian Exposition of 1893; the Ferris image is dated circa 1907; for this and related images, see Barbara J. Mitnick, *Jean Leon Gerome Ferris, 1863–1930: American Painter Historian* (Laurel, Miss.: Lauren Rogers Museum of Art, 1985).
20. F. O. C. Darley's beautiful *Compositions in Outline from Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter"*, inscribed to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, was issued by Houghton, Osgood in Boston in 1879, again in 1884, and also loose in portfolio. One of Darley's original images in color of Hester and Pearl by the shore is today in the Delaware Art Museum. *The Elf-Child and the Minister*, pl. 4, portrays a central hall with stairs going up, armor hanging to the left, Elizabethan portraits on the landings, and tankards and studded chairs. *Hester Prynne and Pearl* also stands as the frontispiece of Edmund Garrett's *Romance & Reality of the Puritan Coast*.
21. For *Priscilla*, see Huntington and Pyne, *Quest for Unity*, 89. For "Pilgrims Going to Church in Colonial Times," see Green, "Popular Science and Political Thought Converge," 20.
22. These murals, seven of which are on Miles Standish themes, have been reinstalled from the employee lounge to the marble-walled lobby of the Metropolitan Life Building in Manhattan.
23. Eakins's works around this date, some in bas reliefs of spinning and sewing, have frequently been attributed to the colonial revival spurred by the Centennial in his hometown. I am suggesting that the DeYoung Museum image with its female in old empire dress and sprawling male in 1870s clothing plays with the colonial convention of Priscilla and her suitors tongue-in-cheek. For a related image, see Eakins's monochrome wash (Brooklyn Museum) for the engraving on the opening page of "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions," *Scribner's Monthly* 18 (June 1879): 256.
24. *Revisiting the White City*, 331–32. Turner was an associate director for decorative work at the Exposition.
25. The title of the book suggests Garrett's desire to play both sides imaginatively: *Three Heroines of New England Romance: Their True Stories Herein Set Forth by Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford, Miss Louise Imogen Guiney, and Miss Alice Brown, with Many Little Picturings Authentic and Fanciful by Edmund H. Garrett and Published by Little, Brown and Company Boston, 1894*. Spofford herself reconfigures the final image of Priscilla riding the white bull as Europa, a further cementing of the colonial ties to lands across the sea (see 56–60).
26. Their importance had been broadcast in Bartlett's *Pilgrim Fathers*, which included illustrations of such things as "Winslow's substantial oak chair, brought over from England" (179) in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; objects in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, like the John Carver chair, brought over in the *Mayflower*, and the Brewster chair (200, 204); and in private hands, the Fuller cradle (201), as well as tankards, leaded-glass windows, and other "Pilgrim relics" like "an old Dutch Bible with studs and clasps, and a curious spinning-wheel, no doubt also imported from the 'Old Country' by some of the first-comers" (207).
27. Longfellow was, in fact, explicit about the interior of the house constructed by the poorer John Alden: "Latticed the windows were, and the window panes were of paper, / Oiled to admit the light, while wind and rain were excluded" (canto 8).
28. Earle's *Costume of Colonial Times* (1894) was compiled as a glossary of terms, which she hoped would "prove of value and of use to artists, to portrayers of old colonial days . . . and that it will help to prevent in the future any such anachronisms as now disfigure many of our stories and accounts . . . not only through incorrect verbal description, but through equally imperfect and inaccurate illustration" (xi). She also noted that advertisements had been a chief source for her and that the records of New England predominate, because they have been best preserved after "the devastation of two wars" (xiii). Earle was already by 1894 the author of *Customs and Fashions in Old New England* and *Sabbath in Puritan New England* (1891), her first book, which had gone through eight editions by 1896. Her still valuable *Two Centuries of Costume in America, 1620–1820* (1903) was well illustrated with engravings after early images. For her life in historical context, see the perceptive dissertation by Williams, "In the Garden of New England." Although in 1894 Earle was criticized by the Reverend Daniel Rollins for not realizing the "grand work of our Puritan ancestors in laying the foundations of our great Republic here in the wilds of the new world," the title page of her *Customs and Fashions in Old New England* asserts: "Let us thank God for having given us such ancestors; and let each successive generation thank Him no less fervently, for being one step further from them in the march of ages" (quoted in Williams, "In the Garden of New England," 171).
29. Again one may turn to Earle, *China Collecting in America* (1892), which had photographs, an important resource for Earle. Her *Home Life in Colonial Days* (1899) was illustrated with photographs by Emma Coleman, Emma Sewall, the Allen sisters, and Eva Newell.
30. How Mosler as a Jew negotiated his professional career in producing genre and historical paintings is discussed perceptively in Albert Boime, "Henry Mosler's 'Jewish' Bretons and His Quest for Collective Identity," in Gilbert, *Mosler*, 91–127. His strategies in the United States and the responses of his American colleagues and audience still need sorting out, although Barbara C. Gilbert, "The

Art and Life of Henry Mosler," in Gilbert, *Mosler*, 17–57, offers significant clues. For instance, at the time he was producing *Pilgrim's Grace* and Revolutionary War scenes, he was searching for a summer residence and settled on the Catskills, not Deerfield, Massachusetts, Mystic, Connecticut, or Cornish, New Hampshire, important summer centers for artists of old Protestant backgrounds; and despite his exhibition record, he never became a National Academician (see *ibid.*, 48–49). Both aspects of his life are probably linked to period anti-Semitism, a particular twist to the racialist side of old New England.

31. A younger mother holds at the table her male child, her chairback with a punched-out heart shape—the symbolism is insistent!
32. "City Art Exhibition," *New York Tribune*, 2 May 1909 (quoted in Ahrens, "Brownscombe," 25–29).
33. An etching of this painting is at the Harriet Beecher Stowe Center, Hartford, Connecticut, a gift from Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Hooker. Genealogical information is in *Descendants of Francis LeBaron of Plymouth, Mass.*, compiled by Mary LeBaron Stockwell (Boston: Marvin, 1904), 5–15. A small version of the Dielman etching, *A Colonial Wedding*, appears as the frontispiece. I am indebted to Elisa Cohen Tamarkin for bringing biographical information to my attention.
34. The frontispiece of the Christmas 1883 issue of *Harper's Monthly*, for example, was an engraving after Dielman's image of a young Puritan couple, *Under the Mistletoe*, and a few pages later readers were offered Howard Pyle's harsh *Puritan Governor Interrupting the Christmas Sports*. George Boughton contributed an eighteenth-century couple, *At the Kissing Bridge*. In January we return to Pyle as illustrator of Thomas Wentworth Higginson's explication of the years 1774–89, "The Birth of a Nation." April brought Edwin Abbey, as illustrator of the William Black series, "Judith Shakespeare: Her Love Affairs and Other Adventures," published in book form also in 1884 and the next month's frontispiece was another Elizabethan image, *Among the Daffodillies*, by Pyle, for "A May-Day Idyl of the Olden Time." For two perspectives on the larger question, see William R. Taylor's classic *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York: Braziller, 1961), and David Glassberg, "Restoring a 'Forgotten Childhood': American Play and the Progressive Era's Elizabethan Past," *American Quarterly* 32 (Fall 1980): 351–68.
35. Green, "Looking Backward to the Future," 2.
36. This material has been surveyed by Thistlethwaite, *Images of Washington*; and Wick [Reaves], *Washington*. See especially Marling, *Washington Slept Here*.
37. For Washington Elm mementoes, see Marling, *Washington Slept Here*, 29, 33, 34. Woodrow Wilson, "Colonies and Nation: A Short History of the People of the United States: The War for Independence," *Harper's Monthly* 103 (Oct. 1901): 794. For the comparable relic of Hartford, see William Hosley, "The Romance of a Relic: Sam Colt's Charter Oak Relic Furniture," *Folk Art* (Fall 1996): 49–55.
38. For the context of this, see Wills, *Cincinnatus*.
39. The history of the image's creation (including French's visits to the classical-cast collection at the Boston Athenaeum) and replication is available in Richman, *French*, 38–47. For an earlier, immediately postwar usage of the swords-plowshares configuration, see the opening page poem and image, "After the War" *Harper's Monthly* 31 (August 1865). I am indebted to Emily Dana Shapiro for calling this to my attention.
40. For this and much of the following information on this painting, I am indebted to the exhibition and catalogue *Victorian Sentiment and American History Painting*; and especially to Margaret Swallow Dwyer. Sara C. Junkin points out that Bacon and Boughton had studied with Edouard Frère in Ecouen, Brittany; that Bacon fled Paris to London in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War; and that Bacon also did a Longfellow-inspired work, *Miles Standish at the Burial of Rose Standish* (unlocated) in 1870 (*ibid.*, 16).
41. Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, 488 n. 2. On Lossing's historical role, see Van Tassel, "Lossing"; and Cunningham, "Historian on the Double," 54–64ff.
42. Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, 488 n. 2.
43. "A vision of American youth empowered with great dignity to speak out for human rights against tyranny," as Junkin insists, in *Victorian Sentiment and American History Painting*, 13.
44. Mergen in *Victorian Sentiment and American History Painting*, 21–24; for the snowball fight, see the opening of chapter 3 in Adams, *Education*.
45. *Victorian Sentiment and American History Painting*, 7–9, 25. Did Corcoran, as a Confederate sympathizer only recently returned to society, also read the painting in terms of this more recent reconciliation?
46. "The Battle of Bunker Hill," *Harper's Weekly* 19 (26 June 1875): 522; Currier and Ives had produced three versions (Gale 0419–21).
47. The 1901 *Harper's* image and the two pencil studies are reproduced in Abbot, *Pyle*, facing 122, 130, 136; the original illustration appeared in *Harper's Monthly* 103 (October 1901): facing 792; a delicate pen-and-ink vignette (without rooftops) of the carefully rendered church and town, ship *Lively* in the harbor, and the Charlestown hills beyond appears at 795.
48. We are indebted to museums like the Delaware Art Museum in Wilmington (Pyle's home territory) and nearby Brandywine River Museum at Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania, which collected and later exhibited the "original" drawings and oil paintings, many of which passed from the artist's studio directly to museum collections rather than through private patrons and purchasers.
49. Higginson's swipe is in *Harper's Monthly* 68 (January 1884): 241. We recall that Higginson was also the literary critic to whom Emily Dickinson felt comfortable appealing for poetic advice.
50. Higginson, "Our Country's Cradle," *Harper's Monthly* 68 (February 1884): 418.
51. Henry Cabot Lodge, "The Story of the Revolution," *Scribner's* 23 (February 1898): 200; the whole Bunker Hill episode is 200–202.
52. *Ibid.*, 202.
53. The paintings Frederic Remington made of the event sometime later that year look back to the

- Scribner's image that had appeared in February and which Remington in all likelihood knew. He and Pyle were colleagues and friends. Alexander Nemerov briefly notes the comparison of images in his *Frederic Remington and Turn-of-the-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 61.
54. The caption reads: "The scene represents the second attack and is taken from the right wing of the Fifty-second Regiment, with a company of grenadiers in the foreground. The left wing of the regiment, under command of the major, has halted, and is firing a volley: the right wing is just marching past to take its position for firing. The ship-of-war firing from the middle distance is the *Lively*; in the remoter distance is the smoke from the battery on Copp's Hill. The black smoke to the right is from the burning houses of Charlestown."
 55. Quoted in Abbott, *Pyle*, 230; he had sent the Bunker Hill picture to the art editor at *Scribner's* on 18 November 1897 (*ibid.*, 166).
 56. For an image of the battle portrayed from the rebel side, see John Sloan's frontispiece illustration for Stephen Crane, *Great Battles of the World* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1901); the original sketch is reproduced in David Scott, *John Sloan* (New York: Watson-Guption, 1975), 67.
 57. See N. C. Wyeth and the *Brandywine Tradition* (Harrisburg, Pa.: William Penn Memorial Museum, 1965); the opening chapter, "Howard Pyle's World of Illustration," in Allen and Allen, *Wyeth*; and the new David Michaelis, *N.C. Wyeth: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1998).
 58. In a letter of 10 February 1904, Wyeth called the assignment at the Pyle school "one of the best subjects in the world to paint. The 'Battle of Concord' at the 'Old North Bridge.'" He then enthusiastically reported to his mother his success—"I never enjoyed making a picture more in my life. I have finally identified myself with every character, entering into each man's character until I almost know how he would talk—laugh—and act. . . . laying the foundation for a *great nation*. Just think what it means!" When he took the picture to New York in March, it was a big success with art editors (Wyeth, ed., *The Letters*, 71, 72, 79).
 59. *Ibid.*, 72. Wyeth's black-and-white image in "Familiar Quotations Pictured": "Here once the embattled farmers stood / And fired the shot heard round the world"—Emerson, in *The Delineator* 62, no. 10 (October 1905): 576 (cited in Allen and Allen, *Wyeth*, 257).
 60. This opens an entirely different perspective, of the contribution of women to this process. I have mentioned Brownscombe and Earle; Jewett, especially in her *Tory Lover* (1901), attempted to deal directly with the Revolution as an argument over the meaning of one's English heritage and the nature of loyalties. The role of women as preservationists is dealt with perceptively in Giffen and Murphy, eds., "*Noble and Dignified Stream*."
 61. See Troyen, *Great Boston Collectors*, 31; she indicates that by 1905 the Museum of Fine Arts owned only five Copleys, four Stuarts, two Smiberts, one West, and three Trumbulls, by contrast to their outstanding collection today; however, private owners did often lend their early portraits to exhibitions.
 62. Earle's work on costume history and New England customs, for example, was heavily dependent on her reading of pictorial evidence.
 63. Richman, *French*, 60. As Richman points out, the letter was addressed in 1921 to the librarian of the Boston Athenaeum; the story of the commission is detailed (56–61). Sherman Hoar was youngest son of Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, the Concord representative who had secured the congressional appropriation of cannons for French's earlier *Minute Man* casting.
 64. Typology was a form of scholarly exegesis of Old Testament events—like the view from Pisgah. As a literal prefiguration of a specifically Christian drama, the "Holy Land" become the Resurrection and life after death. As a mode of understanding and of reading events in American history and literature, see Ursula Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970); Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *Typology and Early American Literature* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972); and Roger B. Stein, "Thomas Smith's Self-Portrait: Image/Text as Artifact," *Art Journal* 44 (winter 1984): 316–27.
 65. The base by Richard Morris Hunt was inscribed, "To Commemorate the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock, December 21, 1620," with the society's name below. See Sharp, *John Quincy Adams Ward*, 215–17. The work was engraved and analyzed in *Harper's Weekly* (6 June 1885), and a strongly critical article by Truman Bartlett appeared the following year: "Early Settler Memorials.—I. 'The Pilgrim,'" *American Architect and Building News* 20 (4 September 1886): 107–9.
 66. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 1: 353–54; see also the early sketches illustrated in volume 2.
 67. *Ibid.*, 1: 354
 68. A second critical group of material was discovered in the early twentieth century in the British Public Records Office (Guernsey Jones, ed., *Letters & Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham 1739–1776*, vol. 71 of the Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, 1914); and in the 1930s Barbara Neville Parker and Anne Bolling Wheeler produced for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts a catalogue of the American portraits of Copley, with a stress on the identification of his sitters, making him the best-documented American artist (rivalled only by Gilbert Stuart—a Bostonian only at the end of his career) until well after 1945. Carrie Rebora, "Copley and Art History: The Study of America's First Old Master," in Rebora and Staiti, *Copley in America*, 3–23, surveys this territory.
 69. The debate over Copley's loyalties continues, from William Dunlap's 1834 attitude that he had sold his American birthright by staying abroad after 1774, to Albert Boime's flat identification of him with his Loyalist father-in-law Richard Clarke on issues of slavery ("Blacks in Shark-Infested Waters: Visual Encodings of Racism in Copley and Homer," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 3 [winter 1989]: 20–36), on the one hand, to more moderate and nuanced views like those of Paul Staiti in Rebora and Staiti, *Copley in America*, 25–51, which sees Copley as attempting to negotiate a space for himself between extremes to maximize potential patronage. I am persuaded that this latter is closer to the truth, because it takes into account his repeated assessment that "America"

would emerge as an independent nation and that he wished to be positioned as an avatar of this new national expression.

70. This is the line especially from James Thomas Flexner to Jules Prown and Barbara Novak (in different ways) and ultimately Rebora herself, in the title of her essay, "Copley and Art History: The Study of America's First Old Master."
71. For the catalogue of the Lyndhurst sale, see Jules Prown, *John Singleton Copley* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 2: 400–405.
72. Whitehill, *Boston*.
73. For the decor, see Burke et al., *In Pursuit of Beauty*.
74. The anonymous seventeenth-century Endicott portrait, the "original" of which is in the Massachusetts State House collection, was, according to Richard Saunders, "repeatedly copied in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—perhaps more than any other colonial leader's portrait. [John] Smibert's copy is one of as many as nineteen copies that are thought to have been done" (Saunders, *Smibert*, 211–12).
75. Scholarly study on Whitman is still fragmentary, although Giffen and Murphy, "Noble and Dignified Stream," draws upon her book design (see the note, iv) and links her to ceramic work (128); she is included in Martha J. Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston, 1870–1900: The Pupils of William Morris Hunt," *American Art Journal* (winter 1981): 17–37; and was the subject of a small exhibition, "An Artistic Friendship: Sarah Orne Jewett and Sarah Wyman Whitman at Berwick Academy," at the Old York Historical Society in 1997. An important "Biographical Outline" of her life by Betty Smith is in the curatorial archives of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
76. Quoted in Hirshler, *Bunker and His Circle*, 9.
77. See, for example, Carol Troyen's entry on *Mother Reading* (1905) by George de Forest Brush in Stebbins, *Lure of Italy*, 380.
78. Quoted in Greenthal, Kozol, and Ramirez, *American Figurative Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts*, 204. I am indebted to George Gurney for calling this image to my attention.
79. See Richman, *French*, 51–55, and Richman, "French," 224–46. One can spot a plaster version of the French bust in a photograph of French's friend the painter Abbot Handerson Thayer standing outside his studio.
80. This was the trip in which—as another token of Anglo-American bonds—Albert Bierstadt gave a dinner for Longfellow on 9 July 1868 in London, attended by eighty English and American guests, at which Bierstadt presented Longfellow with a small oil scene from *Hiawatha* (Stein, "Portfolio," 170–72).
81. See especially Burgard, "Lewis and Longfellow." For the portrait of Longfellow and his daughter in Rome, see William H. Gerdt, "Church, Healy, McEntee: The Arch of Titus," [Newark] *Museum* 10 (winter 1958): 18–20.
82. For a brief look at her brother Edward Hooper as a collector of Winslow Homer, see Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 214–16.
83. In 1872, while in Rome, a twenty-four-year-old Saint-Gaudens gave his female sitter, Eva Rohr, two pie plates painted with images of Priscilla and John Alden (see Dryfhout, *Saint-Gaudens*, 4, 57).
84. Many have written of this; a helpful summary can be found in Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 47–58, 225–41, 261–99.
85. See "The Shaw Memorial and the Sculptor Saint-Gaudens," *Century* 54 (June 1897): 176–200, which included a history of the monument, an essay on Saint-Gaudens, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson's "Colored Troops under Fire" (194–200). See also Dryfhout, *Saint-Gaudens*, 222–29; Marcus, "Shaw Memorial."
86. Quoted in *Lay This Laurel*, photographs by Richard Benson and essay by Lincoln Kirstein (New York: Eakins, 1973).
87. Actually, it was just at this point that the center of training for sculptors was shifting from Rome to Paris. Lewis's place within the expatriate community is still an open question. For recent thinking on the issue, see Proctor, "Travelling between the Borders of Gender and Nationality"; for her relation to Longfellow, see Burgard's excellent "Lewis and Longfellow."
88. For one New Englander's contrasting sense of the loss of that ancient power, see Henry Adams's self-imaging on the steps next to the Campidoglio, in "Rome," chap. 6, in Adams, *Education*.
89. See Dryfhout, *Saint-Gaudens*, 214; and for an earlier Bunker image of Ann Page, see Michael Quick, Marvin Sadik, and William H. Gerdt, *American Portraiture in the Grand Manner, 1720–1920* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1981), 212–16.



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Title page: Rockwell Kent, *Maine Coast* (detail), 1907, oil on canvas, 86.7 x 112 cm (34 1/8 x 44 1/8 in.). © The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998, Hinman B. Hurlbut Collection (1132.1922).

pp. iv–v: Alice Schille, *White Houses*, ca. 1916, watercolor, 44.5 x 52.1 cm (17 1/2 x 20 1/2 in.). Courtesy of The Canton Museum of Art, James C. and Barbara J. Koppe Collection.

Front cover: N. C. Wyeth, *Island Funeral*, 1939, tempera on panel, 111.8 x 132.1 cm (44 x 52 in.). Art Collection of the Hotel duPont, Wilmington, Delaware. Photograph courtesy of the Brandywine River Museum, Chadd's Ford, Pennsylvania.

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